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ABSTRACT

Findings of a study of a nonclinical sample of 30 kindergarten children and elementary school students in foster care suggest that few had mastered many of the fundamental psychosocial tasks of childhood. Primary measures were obtained by administering the Task of Emotional Development test (TED) -- a picture projective test designed to index children's mastery of growth issues. The percentage of foster children demonstrating mastery of each TED task was determined, as well as the correlation between mastery on each task and subjects' ages, IQ scores, and number of foster care placements. The most pervasive developmental problems seemed to be that few of the children deny themselves chances to immediately seize opportunities for personal pleasure, regardless of the acceptability of their actions to others. Mother-child conflict was a frequent element in the themes projected by the children. Children seldom identified with members of a nuclear family, rarely manifested identification of sibling relationships, identification with parent sex-roles, or acceptance of adult values as their own. Children who had experienced a greater number of foster placements, however, were more likely to demonstrate mastery of psychosocial tasks in several areas, a finding that was independent of the age of the child. (Author/RH)

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The Foster Care Project: Findings on Cognitive and Social-Emotional Development

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The University of Tennessee Foster Care Project was undertaken to investigate the development of foster care children and factors associated with different developmental patterns. Although the demographic features of the families of origin and the foster placement histories of such children have been documented (e.g., Fanshel & Shinn, 1978), only theory and generalizations from empirical data on home reared and/or institutionalized children have been available to guide mental health agencies and professionals planning for foster care children. This report describes preliminary findings on psycho-social aspects of development in elementary school-aged foster children.

Subjects

The Foster Care Project provides individual developmental-psychological assessments of kindergarten and elementary school children to the state agency responsible for their placement and care. The area served by the participating agency is a largely rural county in the Southeast including a mid-sized city. Only children placed in foster homes (as opposed to group homes and institutions) and free of previously identified developmental handicaps or psychopathology are eligible, since the Project is intended to study those foster children who would not otherwise come to the attention of professionals. The children seen by the Project, therefore, are not a representative sample of all children in foster care within the catchment area. Nor are they fully representative of the children who meet the criteria for the Project, since the agency has primarily referred children for assessment either because they have shown adjustment problems in their foster care homes, or because information was sought in conjunction with planning future placements (e.g., adoptive placements, changes of foster placements, or return to natural parents). Like most children in foster care, those seen for the Project come largely from disrupted families

with severely limited educational and financial resources. Table 1 shows the characteristics of the 30 children who have been included in the Project to date.

Procedures

The Task of Emotional Development test (T.E.D.) was administered as part of a battery of tests used for individual assessments. This picture projective test was developed by Cohen and Weil (1971) to tap mastery of growth issues delineated by Erikson and by Gardner. The pictures represent familiar situations in which mastery of these growth issues can be reflected. The 12 T.E.D. tasks/issues employed for this study are shown in Table 2.

Successful mastery of a growth issue is demonstrated by achieving both Recognition and Resolution scores. A child is credited with Recognition if his or her story recognizes the growth issue portrayed by the picture, and with Resolution if the story includes an outcome designated by Cohen and Weil as indicative of a mature solution to the developmental task portrayed. Resolution is not scored unless Recognition has been achieved. Mean rater agreement was 88 percent (SD = 11 percent). Other aspects of content are explored to identify factors associated with these growth issues and their mastery or failure of mastery in the lives of the foster care children.

In addition to the T.E.D. performances of the children, Stanford-Binet (LM) IQ scores determined as part of the assessments and number of foster placements reported by agency caseworkers were employed for the present study.

Findings and Discussion

The percentage of foster children demonstrating mastery of each T.E.D. task was determined, as well as the correlation between mastery on each task and subjects' ages, IQ scores, and number of foster care placements.[1] These are

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[1] Percentages of mastery were calculated for the 27 children meeting criteria for inclusion in the study and completing the TED. Pearson r and Point Biserial correlations were done on subjects from the total sample (N=30) who had completed the tasks, including on some tasks two subjects for whom the T.E.D. was incomplete (n ranged between 27-29).

shown in Table 3 (only significant correlations are noted for clarity). The percentages of children mastering the tasks were strikingly low on all but one task, considering that these children's histories were free of diagnosed developmental or psychological pathology. The mean percent of subjects mastering tasks was 30 percent (SD = 14 percent). The non-criterion responses given by the children help to clarify their situations. Each task will be discussed in order of the difficulty the tasks presented to the subjects as defined by the precentage of subjects being able to recognize and resolve the task.

Task X. Acceptance of Affection Between Parents

The problems in mastery of this task shown by the foster children was related to Recognition problems; only 37 percent of the subjects successfully perceived the portrayed parental figures as engaged in a mutually pleasurable activity. Instead, most of the children either perceived parental figures engaged in some parenting chore (e.g., discussing the child's behavior or organizing household responsibilities) or did not perceive the adults as marriage partners. These latter failures of Recognition seem to represent quite accurate perceptions of the situations to which many of the children had been exposed in their homes of origin where adult males in the household were frequently neither the natural fathers of the children nor the spouses of the mothers. This suggests that the perceptions of parental figures as engaged in chores rather than mutually pleasureable activities may also by experientially based, and that these children do not typically see spouses interacting affectionately with each other either in their natural or their foster homes.

Among the 37 percent who met the criterion for Recognition, only 30 percent (11 percent of the entire sample) perceived Resolutions in which the child refrained from introjecting him or herself into the adult's activity. More

typically, these children portrayed the child as becoming a participant in the situation. Apparently, even those foster children who had experienced situations permitting them to recognize affection between parents had not acquired the maturity necessary to refrain unselfishly from trying to partake in a pleasurable event.

Task V. Establishment of a Conscience with Respect to the Property of Others

The problems the foster children showed in mastering this task appeared to be in failing to control an impulse to appropriate a valued and scarce commodity. This is shown by the fact that 81 percent of the subjects explicitly recognized that the pictured child faced money belonging to someone else, but 82 percent of those perceiving the task portrayed the child as taking the money anyway. Although most of the subjects saw the child as eventually being caught and punished, demonstrating that they perceived the potential consequences of the act, virtually none of the children portrayed the transgressor as experiencing guilt or shame, nor did they mention possible unpleasant consequences for the owner of the stolen money. These children seemed to regard stealing as an arbitrary taboo rather than as a social/interpersonal transgression and to be largely functioning at Piaget's (1965) developmental level of Moral Realism. Interestingly, children who had experienced greater numbers of foster placements were more likely to demonstrate mastery on this task than those with fewer placements even though number of placements was not related to chronological age in this sample. This correlation suggests that there may be an experiential element involved in mastery of impulses to transgress for foster children that rests on exposure to a number of different caregivers and/or foster sibs.

Task VI. Separation from the Mother Figure

All subjects perceived the adult figure as the mother of the child portrayed in the

picture; virtually all of these who failed to achieve criterion for Recognition had perceived the child as returning after a separation. In these reunion themes, the child was usually seen as having misbehaved outside the home in some way so that reunion involved conflict between mother and child. Even when the criterion of imminent separation was perceived, the child was most often portrayed as then misbehaving outside the home (e.g., running away or staying out too long). In fact, even some of the stories that were successful in that they achieved criterion for Resolution as well as Recognition, mother-child conflict appeared as the precipitating event for the separation. Apparently for these foster children, separation from the mother is associated with interpersonal conflict with the child seen as an active contributor to it.

Most of the foster children studied did not seem to regard separation as a problem, per se; instead, they seemed to regard a child's separation as a situation leading to a family problem or as a solution to familial problems. This appears to reflect their experiences, for many were separated from maternal figures ostensibly because of their own misbehaviors (i.e., placements occurred at the request of caregivers who were no longer willing to tolerate them), and many have acted out following these separations. It is of special interest that many of the children studied portrayed the child as running away or walking out following a conflict. It would seem that the children have adopted the solution to familial problems that authorities have imposed upon them: disengagement from the conflictful family.

Mastery of Task VI was significantly associated with mastery of five other tasks (Peer, Conscience, Identification, Siblings, and Limits) suggesting that those foster children for whom separation was conflict free have accomplished mastery of adult and peer relationships and have learned to accept limits on

their own behavior both in the presence and absence of adults.

Task VII. Identification with the Same-Sex Parent

Most of the foster children (85 percent) correctly perceived the conventional sex-role activities of the adults depicted on the card for this task. Only 22 percent, however, achieved Resolution. In the unsuccessfully resolved stories, the child was typically portrayed as pursuing independent (play) activities instead of entering into the activity of the adult of the same sex. Since successful Resolution on this task requires the subject to perceive the child as taking some initiative to join another in an ongoing task - and a task that is a chore rather than a pleasure activity - it appears that relative lags in initiative and ability to delay pleasure gratification may contribute to lags in mastery of this psycho-social task. This explanation receives some support from the fact that failure of Resolution on this task was significantly related to failure on Peer (where social initiative can achieve success) and on Conscience tasks, where denial of an unacceptable impulse for personal gratification is required for mastery. Correlations with mastery on Trust, Separation, and Siblings suggest that security in familial relationships may also be related to mastery on this task. However, it is also true that brighter children and children who had had more placements were more likely to show success on Identification.

Task IX. Acceptance of Limits from Adults

Forty-six percent of the foster children did not perceive that limits were being set by an adult in the situation portrayed on the card for this task; younger children were more likely than older children to fail to achieve Recognition. Instead, many of the children perceived the adult as helping the child's television viewing - or even as imposing television on the child! The more elaborated

stories of these types portrayed the female adult as having the child watch TV to keep him or her busy or away from a less desirable activity. These stories suggest that television is used as a method of controlling children's behavior in the natural and/or foster families. This is consistent with findings from the child development literature showing that lower socio-economic classes tend to use television as a "baby sitter" more than more affluent and educated families do.

Even among the foster children who perceived a limit-setting situation, however, only 40 percent showed mastery by achieving Resolution. Others portrayed the child as actively avoiding the limits or influencing the adult to lift them. Only one of the children failing Resolution after reaching criterion for Recognition showed evidence of perceiving the adult reasons for setting limits, while several of those who achieved Resolution manifested some understanding of adult rationales for the limit-setting. Most of the unsuccessful children appeared to regard the limit-setting as arbitrary or evidence of parental hostility toward the child. Significant correlations between Resolution on this task and on Trust, Separation, Siblings, and Parents suggest that the children who had not yet mastered the ability to understand and accept limits from adults also manifested relative lags in the development of secure familial relationships.

Task I. Socialization with Peer Group

The foster care children were largely able to recognize the problem posed by the card for this task; 74 percent achieved Recognition. Only 30 percent of the entire group (40 percent of those achieving Recognition) manifested mastery, however. Those who did portrayed the lone child as responsible for eventual inclusion in the peer group by taking some initiative, and usually also by displaying some skill. The importance these children placed on having a

socially recognized skill is not surprising, since the subject population included more boys than girls and the child development literature indicates that game skills are associated with greater peer acceptance among boys. (The group depicted in the picture for boys is holding baseball equipment.) The same literature shows that brighter children enjoy greater peer acceptance, and IQ was related to successful Resolution on this task by the foster children.

Correlations indicated that the children who failed to demonstrate mastery on this Peer task were less likely to show mastery on Peer Aggression, Learning, Conscience, Separation, Identification, and Orderliness. This pattern suggests that lags in peer relationships may be related to lags in impulse control (which would render one less acceptable to peers) and security in attachment relationships as well as lack of initiative and peer-valued skills. Relatively limited exposure to different peers may also be a factor, since foster children with fewer placements and thus exposure to fewer foster sibs were less likely to achieve Resolution on this task.

Task IV. Establishment of Positive Attitudes Toward Academic Learning

Recognition posed some problems on this task even for those children who had had formal grade school experience; 65 percent of the subjects over age six achieved criterion here. The themes that failed to meet criterion for Resolution usually did not link work effort with outcome in academic performance. There seemed to be no contingency perceived. Studying was viewed as an imposed demand undertaken to comply with authority, but had no bearing on personal performance. This may reflect the more general cognitive immaturity (correlation with IQ) and social immaturity of these children (they were also less likely to show mastery on Peer, Trust, Conscience, Identity, Siblings, Orderliness, and Self-Concept). It may also reflect that in many of the foster as well as natural homes of these

children, demands for compliance appear to be high with little emphasis upon the reasons for the demands. Additionally, these children may perceive scholastic success as unrelated to their own behavior.

Task III. Acceptance and Control of Aggressive Feelings Toward Peers

Acceptance of aggressive feelings appeared to represent no problem for the foster children studied, for 85 percent of them achieved Recognition. The fact that 33 percent of the sample (39 percent of those achieving Recognition) portrayed the children as actually proceeding to fight - usually physically - indicates that the majority of these children also accepted acting-out aggressive feelings! Although the subjects frequently perceived the children as getting hurt, they also often perceived the children as being friends after the fight. There was a positive correlation between mastery on this task (not acting-out aggressive feelings) and mastery the the Peer task, but no other significant interrelationships were found. For these foster children, control of peer aggression seems to be independent of familial factors and other indices of psycho-social maturity. It seems possible that aggression among peers may be condoned in the socio-economic cultures they experienced, although refraining from direct peer conflict may facilitate peer acceptance.

Task XII. Establishment of a Positive Self-Concept

Failure to manifest mastery on this task seemed to be related to a lack of self-reflectiveness among the foster children. Although 81 percent of the subjects achieved Recognition, their stories typically focused on some activity or event for which the child was preparing rather than self-consideration as the essential activity. Even those achieving Resolution did so by saying that the superficial accroutrements of the pictured child were satisfactory for the event (e.g., the child was wearing nice clothes for church). Whether this is characteristic of

the age range studied, of the socio-economic groups in which these children have been reared, or of foster children is not yet established. Failure to show mastery on this task, although relatively frequent among the foster children studied, seemed to be a phenomenon that was quite independent of performance on other tasks since it was only correlated with failure on the Learning and Sibling tasks, and with lower IQ scores.

Task VIII. Acceptance of Siblings

Half the foster children studied failed to perceive the children portrayed in the picture for this task as siblings or as the natural children of the woman depicted. Internal analysis established that children who had been placed in the same foster homes as their natural sibs were significantly more likely to achieve Recognition than those without natural sibs in their foster placements. It would appear that experience of living in arbitrarily constituted families leads to perception of individuals as non-essentially related.

Achievement of Resolution on the Sibling task was significantly correlated with IQ and with Resolution on a large number of tasks (Learning, Conscience, Separation, Identification, Limits, Orderliness, and Self-Concept). The particularly strong correlation with Identification suggests that identification with adults and acceptance of their values may be facilitated by the maintenance of intrinsic sibling relationships. It is notable, however, that this pattern was unrelated to the dimensions that seem to reflect nonfamilial peer socialization (Peer and Peer Aggression) or to reliance upon adults to provide for one's basic needs (Trust).

Task XI. Establishment of Positive Attitudes Toward Orderliness and Cleanliness

The problem posed by the card for this task was the most frequently recognized by the subjects (96 percent). They clearly identified with the situation, with many laughing and commenting about its familiarity. At the same time, even the

44 percent who achieved Resolution did so only expressing themes of compliance with a maternal demand, thus revealing that they did not experience orderliness as a personal value. Younger children were less likely to achieve Resolution on this task, perhaps reflecting that adults are less likely to expect them to take on such responsibilities. Resolution on this task was significantly correlated to that on Peer, Learning, and Sibling, a pattern that does not suggest any consistent underlying factor except the possibility that peer social experience may contribute to acquiescence on this issue.

Frequent among the stories that failed to achieve Resolution on this task was an element of hostility toward the maternal figure seen as demanding orderliness. Many children gave themes in which the child had either made the depicted mess in contempt of the mother figure, or later reestablishing disorder in vengefulness toward the mother. Apparently the children saw order not only as a maternal value, but making disorder as a method for passively aggressing toward maternal figures.

Task II. Establishment of Trust in People

The majority of the foster children perceived this as a situation in which a mother was making something edible available to her child (74 percent achieved Recognition) and the child as taking and consuming the commodity (67 percent of the total sample achieved Resolution; 90 percent of those achieving Recognition also achieved Resolution). The stories indicated that the maternal figure was seen as meeting a need of the child's, or as giving a reward earned by the child. The stories were also noteworthy among those involving mother-child interaction in that they included little mention of conflict between the parties. (When conflict was perceived, it took the form of the mother not being willing to let the child have as much food as desired.) It would appear

that in spite of the neglect and/or abuse that most of these children experienced in their natural homes and the instability of foster placements that is unfortunately typical in their lives, they perceived maternal figures as meeting their basic (e.g. physiological) needs.

Correlational analyses indicated that Resolution on this task was related to achieving Resolution on Learning, Conscience, Identification, and Limits. It would appear that in addition to an element of trust in maternal figures to provide for the fundamental needs of children there may also be a factor of mature acceptance of adult values as one's own reflected in this general mastery pattern.

Summary

The findings suggest that even among an ostensibly nonclinical group of foster children, few foster children mastered many of the fundamental psychosocial tasks of childhood. The most pervasive developmental problems seemed to be that few deny themselves chances to immediately seize opportunities for personal pleasure, regardless of the acceptability of their actions to others. This opportunism seemed to be associated with a disregard for, or lack of awareness of, the feelings and interests of others. Mother-child conflict was a frequent element in the themes given by the children, and was only rare in conjunction with the theme of a mother fulfilling a need of a child. Thus, there is an ego-centric element inherent in the foster children's responses that is immature for the age group studied.

Another frequent element noted was failure of the children to identify with members of a nuclear family. The foster children only rarely manifested identification of sibling relationships, identification with parent sex-roles, or acceptance of adult values as their own values. There was some evidence to suggest that the separation from natural family members and placement in

arbitrarily constituted families that are typical of foster care may interfere with the development of such identifications.

A surprising finding was that children who had experienced a greater number of foster placements were more likely to demonstrate mastery of psycho-social tasks in several areas, a finding that was independent of age of the child. It seemed possible that exposure to a greater number of peers and adult caregivers increases the likelihood that a child will have the opportunity to develop peer social skills and to experience effective parents who are good models and objects for identification.

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Appendices

Appended are the abstracted non-criterion T.E.D. themes (Table 4) and discussion points (Table 5) prepared for the visual display at the APA Convention.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of the Total Sample (N=30)

Variable	Range	$\bar{X}$	Median	SD
Chronological Age	4 yr. 8 mo. - 12 yr. 2 mo.	7 yr. 11 mo.	8 yr.	2.16 yr.
No. Siblings	0 - 6	1.9	1.0	1.81
IQ (Stanford-Binet)	60 - 132	95.73	93.5	16.77
No. Foster Homes	1 - 6	2.0	2	1.23
No. Times in Foster Care	1 - 6	1.4	1	.68
Foster Mother's Ratings:				
Adjustment in Current Foster Home	poor-excellent 1 - 5	3.60	4	.93
Adjustment in Schools	poor-excellent 1 - 5	3.35	3	.98

Variable		Frequency	Percent
Race:	Caucasian	24	80
	Black	6	20
Reason for Current Placement:			
	Mental Illness of Parent	4	13
	Physical Illness	2	7
	Parent Unable/ Unwilling to Assume Care (e.g., incarceration; custody change following parental death)	3	10
	Neglect/Abuse	20	67
	Unspecified Family Problems	1	3
Sex:	Male	20	67
	Female	10	33

Table 2

The Tasks of Emotional Development (T.E.D.) Test

Task I: Socialization within the Peer Group

Five children are shown standing in an open field. Four are together in the right middle distance; they are in a circle facing each other so that some have their backs to the camera. The fifth child is alone in the left foreground facing back toward the group of peers.

Theme: One child is not a member of the group.
Criterion Outcome: The solitary child becomes integrated into the group through some prosocial behavior of that child or the group.

Task II: Establishment of Trust in People

A woman and child are shown facing each other in a kitchen. Both are looking into the bowl she holds out toward the child. One of the child's hands is in the bowl she holds.

Theme: The woman is the mother, offering her child something good to eat.
Criterion Outcome: The child takes what the mother offers and consumes it. It is pleasing or satisfying.

Task III: Aggressive Feeling Toward Peers

Two children (of the same sex) stand facing each other out of doors. One has an arm raised with hand rolled into a fist. The children are making eye-contact.

Theme: One child is threatening to aggress against the other.
Criterion Outcome: A physical or verbal fight is avoided on the initiative of either the potential aggressor or the potential target child.

Task IV: Attitudes Toward Academic Learning

A child is shown seated at a table looking at an open book. In one hand the child holds a pencil in writing position.

Theme: The child is doing homework, studying, or preparing for a test.
Criterion Outcome: The child successfully completes the homework (the studying) or successfully performs on the test.

Task V: Respect for the Property of Others

A child stands by a table upon which there is an open billfold with two bills showing. The child is looking at the billfold and one arm is extended toward it with that hand near it on the table.

Theme: The child sees the money that belongs to someone else.
Criterion Outcome: The child leaves the money where it is, or takes steps to return it to its rightful owner.

Task VI: Separation from the Mother Figure

A child and woman stand inside a house near the front door. The child stands in front of the open door with one hand extended toward the handle of the screen door (which is shut). The woman stands further inside, at right angles to the child, with her face turned toward the child. They are looking at each other.

Table 2 (continued)

Theme: The child is about to leave the house alone.
Criterion Outcome: The child goes out alone and engages in some pleasant and socialized activity.

Task VII: Identification with the Same-Sex Parent

A woman and man are in a kitchen standing near each other. The woman is at the sink; the man holds a hammer poised to strike a cabinet over the drainboard. Behind them a few steps is a child, observing them.

Theme: A mother and father are engaged in conventional sex-role activity.
Criterion Outcome: Their child joins (or offers to join) the activity of the parent of the same sex.

Task VIII: Sibling Relationships

A woman is seated on a couch holding a baby in her lap. Both face a school-aged child who stands two steps away looking at them.

Theme: A mother and her two children are interacting.
Criterion Outcome: The school-aged child interacts positively and pleasantly with the baby.

Task IX: Limit-Setting from Adults

A child is seated facing a television set, which is on. A woman stands next to the television. She is half turned toward the child and has one hand extended toward a control knob of the set.

Theme: The woman is limiting the child's television viewing, either by changing to a different channel or turning off the television.
Criterion Outcome: The child complies without protest to the limits set.

Task X: Affection Between Parents

A man and woman stand facing each other and a step apart in the left midground of a living room. They are smiling and in a semi-embrace. A child in the right foreground faces them from several steps away.

Theme: The mother and father are engaged in some mutually pleasurable interaction which their child observes.
Criterion Outcome: The child departs without interrupting the parents.

Task XI: Attitudes Toward Orderliness and Cleanliness

A woman and child stand a few feet apart in front of a closet door. On the floor between them in disarray are papers, articles of clothing, and some toys. The woman is looking at the child and pointing to the disarray. The child looks down at it.

Theme: The mother is telling her child to clean-up.
Criterion Outcome: The child cleans up with little fuss or delay.

Table 2 (continued)

Task XII: Self-Concept

A child stands in front of a dresser looking at his or her image in a mirror.

Theme: The child is looking at his or her image in the mirror.
Criterion Outcome: The child is satisfied with what is seen; the image is satisfactory, pleasant, attractive, etc.

n.b. There are two sets of T.E.D. pictures; the set for boys shows a male child in each picture, while the set for the girls shows a female child in each picture. In each case, the child is about middle elementary school-aged.

Table 3

Intercorrelations Among Key Demographic Variables and T.E.D. Resolution

	CA	IQ	#P'TS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Percent Achieving Resolution
Stanford-Binet IQ	--		.46*	.36	--	--	.31	--	.36	.35	.32	--	--	--	.34	
No. Placements	.46*	--		.48*	--	--	--	.32	--	.40	--	--	--	--	--	
I. Peer Soc.	--	.36	.48*		--	.52*	.54*	.58*	.39	.49*	--	--	--	.39	--	30%
II. Trust	--	--	--			--	.35	.40	--	.43*	--	.37	--	--	--	67%
III. Peer Agg.	--	--	--				--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33%
IV. Learning	.54*	.31	--					.65*	--	.37	.46*	--	--	.39	.39	30%
V. Conscience	--	--	.32						.37	.70*	.34	--	--	--	--	15%
VI. Separation	--	.36	--							.50*	.34	.43*	--	--	--	18%
VII. Identification	--	.35	.40								.60*	--	--	--	--	22%
VIII. Siblings	--	.32	--									.42*	--	.32	.32	33%
IX. Limits	--	--	--										.34	--	--	22%
X. Parents	--	--	--											--	--	11%
XI. Orderliness	.35	--	--												--	44%
XII. Self-Concept	--	.34	--													33%

Note: * $p \leq .01$. All other r's, $p \leq .05$.

Table 4

Abstracted Non-Criterion T.E.D. Themes

T.E.D. Tasks	Failure Point	Salient Non-Criterion Themes	Correlated Tasks & Factors (All +)
X. Parents	Recognition	1. Adults are not related to each other	Limits
		2. Parents are engaged in a chore	
	Resolution	1. Child joins parent's pleasurable activity	
V. Conscience	Resolution	1. Child steals money and spends it on pleasure items, then is caught and punished	# Placements; Separation; Identification; Siblings
VI. Separation	Recognition	1. Child is returning late to angry mother	IQ; Identification; Siblings; Limits
	Resolution	1. Child leaves (often in conjunction with conflict with mother) and runs away or misbehaves	
VII. Ident'tion	Resolution	1. Child seeks peer play	IQ; # Placements; Peer Soc; Trust; Peer Agg; Learning; Conscience; Separation; Siblings
IX. Limits	Recognition	1. Mother tells child to watch TV	Trust; Separation; Siblings
		2. Mother helps child tune TV	
	Resolution	1. Child ignores mother's limits	
		2. Child's arguement gets mother to lift limits	
I. Peer Soc	Resolution	1. Child takes no initiative to contact the peer group - just leaves	IQ; # Placements; Peer Agg; Learning; Conscience; Separation; Identification
VI. Learning	Resolution	1. Child complies with adult-imposed work, but effort does not effect performance	CA; IQ; Conscience; Siblings; Orderliness; Self-Concept

Table 4 (continued)

T.E.D. Tasks	Failure Point	Salient Non-Criterion Themes	Correlated Tasks & Facotrs (All +)
III. Peer Agg	Resolution	1. Physical fight occurs, then: A. Child seeks mother's help, or B. Children are friends again	Peer Soc
XII. Self-Concept	Resolution	1. Child engages in event for which he/she prepared (No Self-Reflection)	IQ; Learning; Siblings
VIII. Siblings	Recognition	1. Unrelated woman and children together 2. Child is forced to care for infant	IQ; Learning; Conscience; Separation; Identification
XI. Orderliness	Resolution	1. Mother's demand for order is hostile or arbitrary, and is: A. Ignored, or B. Met, but undone for revenge	Peer Soc; Learning; Siblings
II. Trust	Recognition	1. Child gives something to mother 2. Mother hits child with lid	Learning; Conscience; Identification; Limits
	Resolution	1. Mother doesn't give as much as the child wants	

Table 5

Discussion

Few of the foster children showed mastery of many of the T.E.D. tasks. Content analysis of the salient non-criterion themes suggested the following characteristics for these children:

Rootlessness: Failure to perceive individuals as intrinsically related to each other in a family structure;

Mother-Child Conflict: Perception of maternal interests and values as being in conflict with those of the child;

Acceptance of Unsocialized Solutions: Willingness to use conventionally prohibited means to resolve interpersonal conflicts;

Compliance/Lack of Initiative: Superficial compliance to authority / no perception of personal efficacy;

Opportunism: A tendency to grasp opportunities for pleasure even when the action will be punished / centration on personal pleasure.

The psycho-social characteristics displayed by these foster children appear to accurately reflect their cultures and experiences both before and during foster care. While they may not show "mastery" of the psycho-social tasks appropriate for children in stable nuclear families, they seem to have adapted realistically to the anomolous situations that have been imposed upon them.